Surára
Pakidái
Xamatári
Karimé

/19 cont./

411 feathering, and, according to Salathé, it is also to be found
184 among the Karimé (76).
114

76. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Figs. 3 and 4.

411 There is an astonishingly wide range of variation for the arrow points, of which the following five different types occur among the Surára and Pakidái:

1. Kantaná -- It is a wide, lancet-shaped bamboo point, 25-28 centimeters long, both /20/ ends of which come to a point; the
● [531] width in the center is 3-4 centimeters. The upper side is rounded off, and the lower one, occasionally somewhat hollowed out, is
[283] sometimes painted with black dots. It is inserted in the slightly split arrow shaft and tightly wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2a). Since the arrows with this large point have particularly great penetrating power, they are used chiefly for the hunting of tapirs and jaguars; moreover, they are used for warlike encounters. Every Surára and Pakidái man always carries two or three such reserve points in his quiver.

411 Salathé found similar points among the Karimé (77) and
184
114

77. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 299/300 and Fig. 3b.

Vinci among the Xamatári (78). Moreover, they are confirmed

78. Vinci, 1956, pp. 145 and 146, Fig. b.

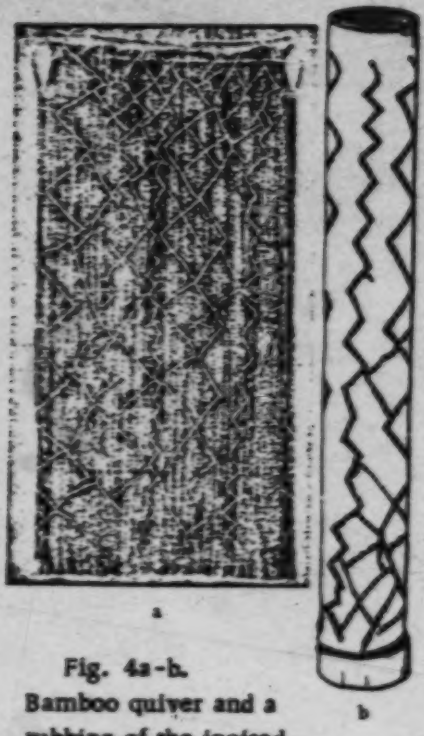
for the latter Indians by a specimen in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. (Alfred Boeldecke Collection, 6.15:5. Length, 23 centimeters; width in the center, three
[531] centimeters. On the lower hollowed-out side, this point is painted with a black, serpentine line.)

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 411 194 173 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waikâ, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

411 415 • 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hîmo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xiriâna, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

411 578 191

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

411 184

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waikâ and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is [174] therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tóra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the [581] most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

411 482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

/29 cont./

292 curauá fibers at /30/ /Fig. 7 appears here/ intervals of 1.5-2
284 centimeters for men's belts and 0.5-1 centimeter for boys' belts, which produces bulges and grooves. Before the belt is slipped off the sticks, a small, two to five-strand twisted cord of cotton or curauá fibers is drawn through the openings and knotted into a loop by means of the two ends three to five centimeters long. These two loops are twisted into each other in front, over the abdomen, by the wearer, and the knots keep the belt secure (Fig. 6a and b, Ill. 23). After [531] [386] they are finished, serpentine lines, circles, or dots are painted on these belts with urucú, for which a small stick is used; often, however, they are colored red all over.

Fig. 6a
Men's belt, detail.

Fig. 6b
Men's belt, diagram.

292 184 Among the Waiká, Zerries found the same men's belts (158),

158. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

and from the photographs in other publications of this author it may be seen that they are worn in the same way as among the Surára and Pakidái (159) (160).

159. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

160. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

Surára
Pakidái
Puseheweteri

292 /30 cont./
284 girls and 0.5 centimeter for those of old women. This distin-
292 guishing feature was always pointed out to me. Tie strings and
53 the wearing style correspond in this case too with the men's belts,
[386] as does the painting with urucú, which is applied on the outer side. As a result of their width, these belts are much easier to paint than those of the men. Most often one sees serpentine lines, occasionally circles are placed between them, and sometimes too the painting only consists of circles, or circles and dots (Fig. 9 a-e; Fig. 10 a-d); there are also belts, however, which are colored red all over.

292 ! Xiriána women who are married to Surára and Pakidái
184 men wear the same belts, as did the little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the /31/ /Figs. 8 and 9 appear here/ /32/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ Karauateri (Ills. 17 and
[192] 18). When I asked them the name of their belts, they gave me the designation -- nyõ -- which corresponds to the Surára and Pakidái word.

292 The Puseheweteri women gave me the same word, although
184 their belts have a somewhat different form (161). They are 60-
[192]

161. I saw them on the women of that tribe who were married to Surára and Pakidái men.

70 centimeters long and consist solely of a thick layer of cotton
292 which has been somewhat twisted together. In other words, it is
284 a very characteristic string-belt, that is, without wrappings or
184 cross-bindings. An additional little fringed apron, however, 22-26 centimeters long, is attached to a tie-string. To make it, 60 to 90 cotton strings, 14-18 centimeters long, are put over the tie-string. After that, starting from the left, the end of the first string hanging down in front is knotted with the one of the second hanging down in back and tightly twisted with it, then the front end of the second one with the rear end of the third, and so forth. The fringes hanging down are 7-9 centimeters long and, to assure firmness, are wound once more below the tie-string
292 with a thin cotton thread. When the belt is worn, the little
53
184

[text continues on p. 69]

2: Becher--68 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 8a-b. Part of a women's belt.

Fig. 8c. Part of a women's belt, diagram.

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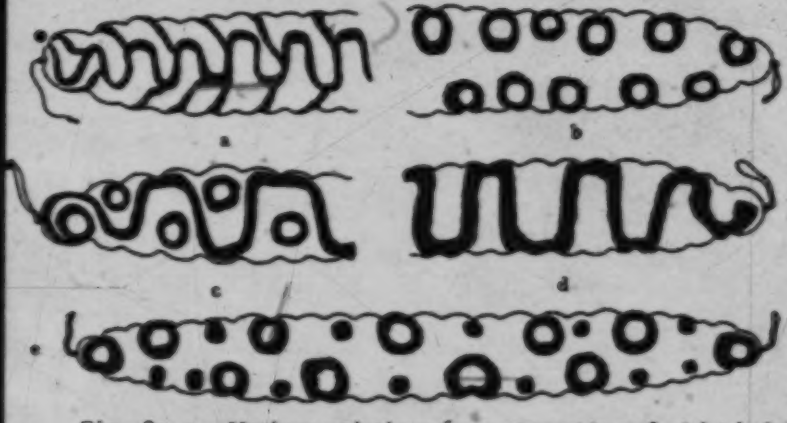

Fig. 9a-e. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts.

Puseheweteri Surára, Karimé

/32 cont./

292
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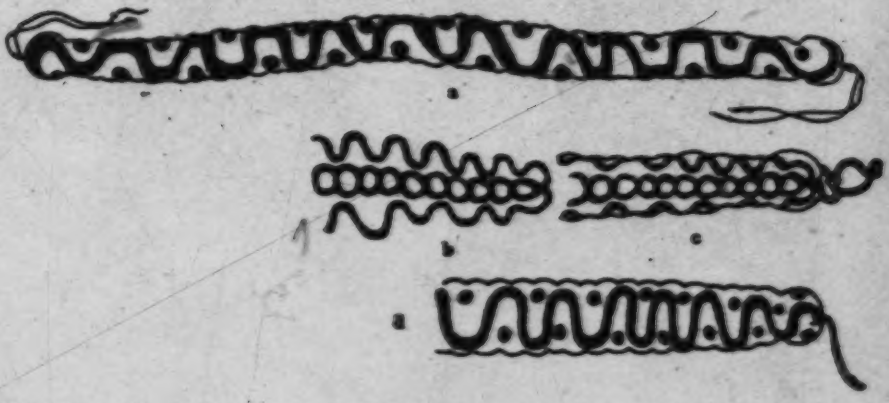

Fig. 10 a-d. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts. /On p. 131 this caption is given as "Various paintings from men's and young men's belts."/

531
292
184 fringed apron rests directly over the pubic region (Ill. 15). These belts,
292 including the little aprons, are as a rule dyed with urucú. It should
531 also be pointed out that younger Puseheweteri women usually adorn
239 the two ends of the little apron with small feathers of the toucan
184 (Rhamphastus sp.), mutum (Crax sp.), and anambé azul (Cotinga cayana L.) fastened to a string. Older Puseheweteri women, on the other hand, always have hanging on the ends of the little apron eight to twelve mussel shells, 2-3 centimeters long and pierced on one side, which, when the wearers walk, beat together and make a soft jangling noise (Fig. 11).

292
184 Exactly the same belt with fringed apron is documented by Salathé for the Karimé women, and from his statements it is to be seen further that the men also wear it, though without the pubic covering (162).

162. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 13a, b.

It should be mentioned that a few Surára women, following the example of their Puseheweteri sisters, have likewise fastened such a fringed apron to a tie-string of their plaited belts. In this the mixture of two cultural elements can be seen especially clearly.

Pusheweteri
surara

/32 cont./

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Fig. 11 Fringed belt of an old Pusheweteri woman, with pierced mussel shells

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Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaoké -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yao. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

284

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarfke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
● [531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

/37 cont./

301
531

Fig. 13a-b. Chest string-bundle of the women (detail and diagram of the painting).

301 c) Cords for arms, wrists, and legs

From the age of four on both sexes at times wear upper-arm cords, and women and girls in addition wrist- and leg-cords, which are made of curauá fibers or cotton. It was also definitely established that the two-strand curauá-fiber cords twisted to the right are the original objects, whereas the two-strand cotton cords twisted to the left are of more recent date. Moreover, here, too, it was observed that a strengthening effect is attributed to the plant fiber.

[283] [824] [856]

/43 cont./

304 174 171 114

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 b) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring [531] motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824] [386] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narú --, a paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- uarabá --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

/51 cont./

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281. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

which serve for storing manioc cakes and fruits. Among the last-named Indians I also saw women's carrying-baskets in miniature form, which are meant for small girls, and some with covers -- [531] weẽ. All the objects named are usually painted with serpentine [386] lines, for which urucú is used. Finally, it should be mentioned [461] that the women, like best to lie comfortably in their hammocks while making such baskets and basket-bowls.

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191
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The women's large carrying-baskets and basket-bowls described above are likewise used by the Waikâ, and both Zerries and Schuster point out that in the manufacture the twining plaiting-technique is used (282) (283) (284). Similar basket-bowls

282. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

283. Zerries, 1955b, p. 663, Ill. 2.

284. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

are also documented for the Karimé (285), and small hanging

285. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 11.

baskets and basket-winnowers from Aruak and Tukano /Tucano/ tribes on the upper Rio Negro, as well as from the Makú /Macu/, exhibit further parallels, which differ only slightly in the external form (286).

286. Koch-Grüngerg, 1910a, pp. 220 ff. and Ills. 142e, 143a, 144.

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[239] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatíz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
● [531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

2: Becher--276 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

415
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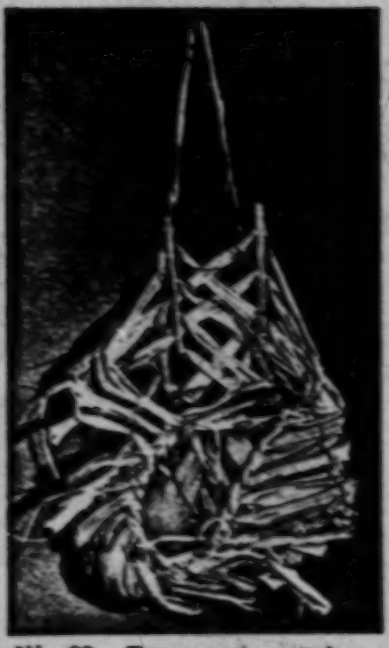
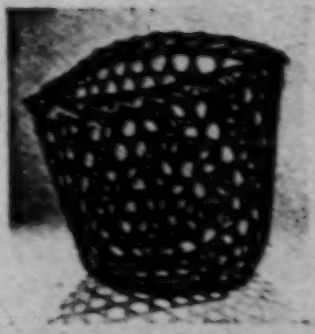


Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves



Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the cipaúl plant

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Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips

Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

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Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surarí and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
•531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
382 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hfikula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[715] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hfikula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hfikula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

along by himself and hopped round us twittering. Then he flew off, to return a little while later with another in tow—perhaps the hen bird. Twittering again, he presented us to her as a fabulous discovery. They twittered a commentary and flew off, returning a little later, this time with a whole flock of friends. Then, with the courage that comes with numbers, they all made for our eyes to get at the honey. We were forced to disillusion them.

VIII

The Shirians have tobacco, *pâkoi* as they call it: even the most primitive and savage of them, the Samatari, cultivate two things in some hidden corner of the forest known only to themselves—tobacco, and the cane from which they make their arrows. Vice and war!

We were highly attracted towards the Uaqua river lands, which, according to Luis Antonio, was country rich in game and inhabited, or at least occasionally crossed, by the Samatari, who inspired terror all round them. Enrico, Momi, and I set out on an expedition there, leaving Jean and Artur to wait for the plane.

We stopped on the way at the Uarema settlement; Luis Antonio wanted to show us off to his people, who had never seen men with beards and wearing clothes.

That night we slept in a crowded hut, and our curiosity was drawn towards a young woman who had strung her hammock between those of Uarema's two nephews (whose persons were adorned with feathers and plumes). She stayed in all day as well, a coseted Shirian Cleopatra, continually looking at herself in the little glass we had given her and adjusting the white feather boa which covered her ears and her shoulders. During the course of the day other women came to help her with her toilet, painting her cheeks and forehead with certain precise geometrical designs: they used red and black colouring matter which when dry shone like enamel. Even her little quid of tobacco was smaller and daintier than others used. Uarema told us that she was the public woman of the tribe.

Next morning, when we were stepping into our boats again, Pancho and Benito came along in a big canoe. They wanted salt from us. We had very little, and had to refuse them. They went off in silence. When they were two hundred yards away, they shouted something in our direction. Luis Antonio

6: Vinci T-S (1950) 1959 SQ18 Tanzania SQ18
Sanema

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15. Cooks make a tasty dish!

16. The fourth type of Sanema - the girlish.

17. The 'bad type' - playing a whistle made from a deer's shin-bone. Note the tribal signs on his stomach

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142
302
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[p. 96 - E]

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
[386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

237 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

/464 cont./

411 89 [824] The children make small bows, generally for their games, but they also shoot lizards, which are good bait for fishing. These bows may be made of several types of wood, but rarely of palm. The bows of the men are always made of palm.

411 [226] Macanas are used by women for fishing. They are also used by men in their attacks on other settlements with which they have had more or less friendly relations, for the purpose of recovering the wife or daughter held captive there.

• [531]

/Fig. 7/

Poisons

278 [226] A variety of poisons for fishing are used by the Guaika /Waica/. One comes from a vine, another from the husk of a prickly nut, and the third from the bark of a certain thick tree.

[411] Arrow points are poisoned with the poison from the bark of a vine. They scrape the bark, and the scrapings, /465/ wrapped in leaves, are kept dry by hanging them over the current of air from a fire until they are needed.

On the day when an Indian is going to prepare poison, every man of the settlement gets ready to prepare a set of arrow points to be poisoned.

The preparer of the poison begins by pulverizing the scrapings of bark between the palms of his hands. He constantly utters a [415] series of shouts and grunts while doing this. Then he places the pulverized bark in a funnel made of leaves, into which hot water

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

[P.110]

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1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

ARROW HEADS

1. Notched point designed to break off in the wound. These points measure from eight to twelve inches in length. 2. Bamboo blade pointed at both ends and therefore reversible. 3. Harpoon point. The bone barb is skilfully bound in position. 4. Small knife; made from the incisor of the capybara and fixed to a wooden handle. The whole measures about six inches. 5. The Waika is rarely separated from his quiver made from the stem of a bamboo in which he also carries his firestick.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

302 Both men and women and even the small children paint their
[386] faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not
302 seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which
●531 it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

123 Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or
302 war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

• • •

352 The furnishing of Waika huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one
[286] above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from
[283] threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their
[287] ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of
592 a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

162 In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians-and by rural Venezuelans-and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing pejibaye palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in the trading network.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 2-7. Omaimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

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nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

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[8]The Yąnomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xirixana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yąnomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikabë*, is a Yąnomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yąnomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yąnomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yąnomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moco" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yąnomamö.

I, in effect, was capturing the *nowahi* of the child: A photograph was called *nowahi*.[13] Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no nowahiki*, the part of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *nowahi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yąnomamö fear the smoke that is produced when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of ceremonies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

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[13]Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

164 Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the
302 number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the [822] village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given [684] back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

[602] The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there
* [628] was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Binami-teri
[721] because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Binami-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

578 Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamamö. A rare form of fighting, how-
411 ever, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

411 The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted
• 531 with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

*628 The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started
578 over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the
721 headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by
593 force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]